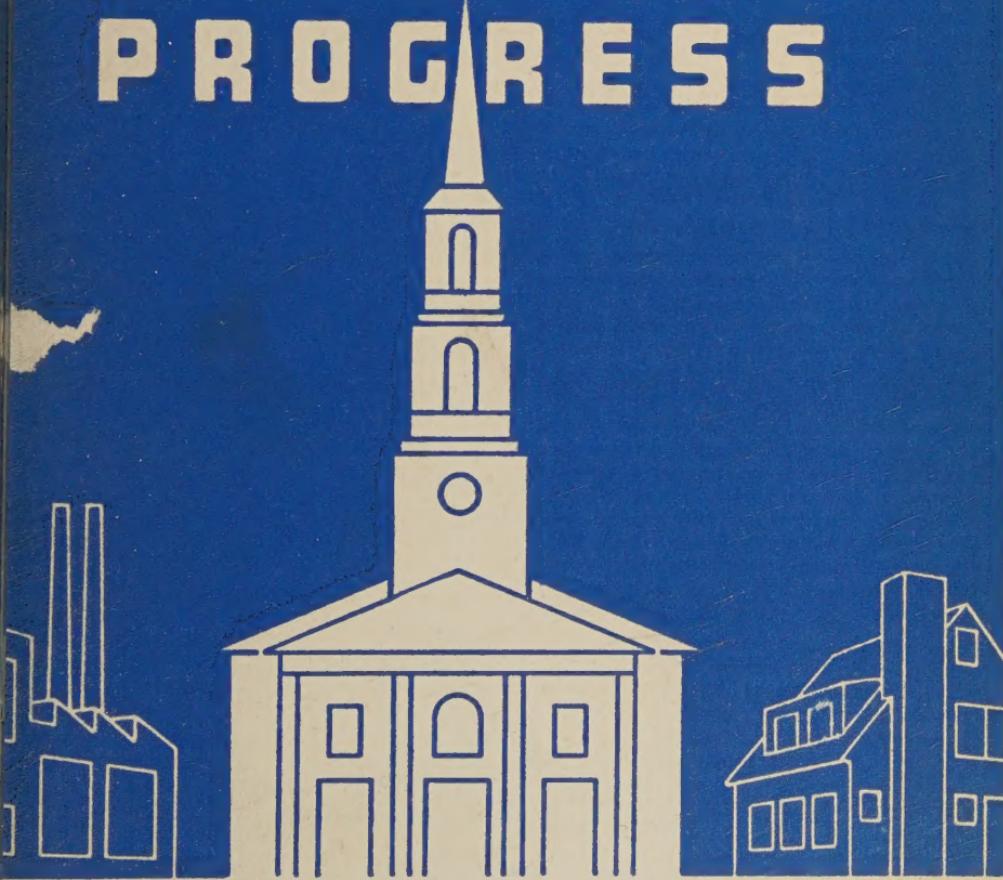


# SOCIAL PROGRESS



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CAMERON P. HALL, *Editor*

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Articles appearing herein furnish information on current issues, represent the personal opinion of the authors, and are not to be construed as declarations of official attitudes or policies on behalf of the Department of Social Education and Action or the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

## Social Progress

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## *I Have a Rendezvous\**

I have a rendezvous to keep today  
With those of ancient times who shared God's dream  
Of brotherhood, whose hearts were torn to see  
The inhumanity of man to man  
And vowed with him that this should be no more.

As well I have a rendezvous today  
With those of recent times who caught this dream  
From saints and prophets of the days long gone,  
And phrased its meaning for this world of mine  
In words to pierce and lift my heart and will.

And also to that sacred rendezvous  
Must come today the men who shaped the words  
In which their partial and potential wills  
Became one will to bring about one world,  
And thus were harnessed to this dream of God.

Be ready, Soul, for such a rendezvous.

PERCY R. HAYWARD

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\* From *International Journal of Religious Education*, October, 1945. Used with permission.

# For Times Like These

## *An Editorial*

1945! With what other year throughout history can it be compared in the magnitude and movement of its world-shattering events? Recall their swift succession: April 12, the death of President Roosevelt; April 25, the convening of the United Nations Conference; May 8, V-E Day; June 26, the United Nations Charter is signed by the delegates from 50 nations; July 5, Great Britain elects its first Socialist government; July 29, U. S. Senate ratifies the charter; August 5, atomic bomb dropped upon Hiroshima; August 9, Soviet Russia declares war upon Japan; September 2, V-J Day; October 9, the first step toward a peace treaty—the London Council of Foreign Ministers ends without even an agreement upon a joint statement; October 24, the United Nations Organization comes formally into being when Secretary of State James F. Byrnes issues the "Protocol of Deposit of Ratifications of the Charter of the United Nations," containing the signatures of fifty-one states—By itself, any one of these would mark a sharp break between the past and the present; together they project mankind into a future that is not only unpredictable but unimaginable.

And now—1946! What of it? This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS sees us to face directly into that question, not to supply answers so much as to indicate the mood, the approach, and the response worthy of those who, in such a time as this name themselves followers of Jesus Christ. In "The World Confronts the Church" three leaders of the Presbyterian Church emphasize the call of Christ to this as to every generation: "Awake! Gird yourselves! Give your best in courage and faith and generosity to the things that make for justice and brotherhood and peace."

Then follows discussion of some of the main issues, national and world-wide, which the Christian, as neighbor and as citizen, must deal with if he is to give more than lip-service. *Ours is an atomic world*, in that men now have released the greatest source of physical energy—the energy of the atom itself! *Ours is a war-devastated world*, where globe-encircling hunger and homelessness and callousness make the tragedy of childhood perhaps the most heart-rending. . . . *Ours is a world of scientific achievement*, which military security and economic well-being for each nation lie not in unilateral but in multilateral

world action. The choice between international co-operation or world annihilation cannot be made successfully by other nations of the world apart from what the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. are and do separately and together. . . . *Ours is a world of vast and deep social change.* The passion for freedom that has carried forward the Western world to heights of political democracy now moves socially submerged peoples to forge new patterns of social and economic democracy.

Whatever lies behind us in 1945, or whatever may be before us in 1946, the age-old question confronts each one: "What doth the Lord require of thee?" Through world events God calls us to an emphasis upon the *constructive* forces in life. Because these forces were already weak within us, World War II began; and when war itself takes over the human spirit, destructiveness is made a virtue and hate and revenge and callousness are its aftermath. The initial use of atomic energy for military purposes, for example, has blinded the popular imagination to the constructive uses to which this energy may be put. Men who believe in, are committed to, and who put into human relations the constructive forces which God has implanted in the human spirit are unmoned as never before.

Again, the essential principles for sound human relations between individuals and groups, which Christ

reveals and experience supports, are still unchanged. Understanding and fair play, co-operation and good will, justice and mercy, respect for personality, and the practice of solidarity—these alone are the "realistic" bases for relations among nations and classes and races.

Moreover, good will is no substitute for, but must be harnessed to, understanding through reading, study, and discussion. It will be all too easy for many people to be swept to this or that position; to paint either all white or all black a cause about which there is sincere and intelligent difference of opinion. But the times need people of poise and balanced judgment, people whose convictions are not the reflection of their own prejudices, nor their opinions wishful thinking, untouched by an understanding of the facts.

And, finally, the need is great for the recognition of citizenship as central to our "high calling . . . in Christ Jesus." The great violations of personality and the betrayal of solidarity are too often done in the name of the community and the nation. But in a democracy government is not something apart from the citizen! Of a citizen in a democracy it may be said that the government is "upon his shoulders"; and by his sense of responsibility as a citizen the Christian can help to bring about that "the government shall be upon his shoulders."

# *The World Confronts the Church*

## *A Symposium*

### **As the Moderator of the General Assembly Sees It**

AS I have journeyed across the country in recent weeks, meeting with men and women of all walks of life, I have been impressed with two things:

First, the wistful longing on the part of the world for a clear direction to the "ways of God." There is a weariness of petty partisan leadership. Over and over comes the question, Why does not the Church, with clearness and conviction, point the direction that we must go to find the satisfactions for which humanity is seeking?

Just as clearly stands out the hesitancy of the Church to come to grips with the vital issues of the day. There seems to be a fear that a candid dealing with the tremendous issues of this hour will destroy the inner peace of the Church. A prominent officer of a Presbyterian Church said to me, "Keep the Church away from social and economic problems or its influence will be damaged."

But how will the leadership of Christ for our day be made clear if Christian men and women, gathered together in his Church, cannot in his spirit discuss and debate the critical issues of our day? Politicians discuss them. Leaders of industry and leaders of labor discuss them. By and large, we are not satisfied with their conclusions. They have not shown the way to a just and peaceful settlement of the world's woes. We believe that they fail because they do not rightly interpret the mind of Christ.

If the grace of God is to be mediated to the world through the Christian Church in our day, Christian men and women must debate boldly and fearlessly the issues that are plaguing our lives. The Early Christian Church did just this with their problems and they rendered a decision. The Reformation of the sixteenth century debated their problems and the world gained new freedom. Through what institution can Christ give leadership, if the Church does nothing?

What a wonderful challenge this day brings to our Bible classes to debate the Christian solution of problems confronting the community in which we serve, making sure only of this, that every person participating is sincere.

seeking to make clear the leadership of Jesus. Church-night forums might be arranged where everyone participates in an open discussion, and a findings committee drafts a statement of the conclusions agreed upon. The next General Assembly will be asked to make some deliverances on current problems. How much wiser would be the statements of the Assembly if they were based on debates in which the entire membership of the Church had a part! As a matter of fact, the General Assembly will be in no position to point the way unless the rank and file of the members of the Church have given earnest and prayerful consideration to the problems that confront us.

Our Presbyterian Churches should heed Paul's advice to the Church at Ephesus. "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee." The time to do it is NOW!

WILLIAM B. LAMPE

### As the Chairman of General Assembly's Laymen's Committee Sees It

After nineteen hundred years, during which a large part of the civilized world has been served by Christian Churches, mankind has reached the point where its continuing greed, selfishness, and violence threaten its own extermination. This fact raises highly significant questions as to the effectiveness with which the Christian Gospel has been proclaimed during these nineteen hundred years.

The fundamental cause of the weakness of Christian influence has been the willingness of professing Christians to regard Christianity as an institution instead of as a way of life. If the Christian religion be interpreted as a way of life, no part of life can be separated from the moral principles of the teachings of Jesus. These teachings stem from the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and lead inevitably to the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. If all men are brethren, the Christian message has an immediate relevance for this hour such as it has never had in the past. The world can live if all men are regarded as brethren. If men are not brethren, the world is doomed.

The essential task of Christian Churches in what may be the dying hour of civilization is to proclaim Jesus Christ as the Revelation of God's will to men and his Kingdom as the expression here and now of the reign of brotherly love. We must end the practice of treating religion as if it were a separate department of life. The Christian religion must dominate the whole of each man's life. Christ must be Lord of all or he is not Lord at all.

Christian Churches therefore must proclaim to the people that unbrotherly selfish, greedy, and violent individuals have no place within the Christian fellowship. Once again, as in the first century, those who are Christians must love one another and love all humanity. "If a man . . . loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?? Those who do not love can have no place in the Christian fellowship. The dishonor the Master.

If love becomes the single principle of the followers of Jesus, they will waste no further time on denominational divisions, criticisms of groups which do not express religion in the same terms as they do, solemn imitations of ancient forms and preaching that carefully avoids the great social and moral issues of the day. They will give their time and strength to the immediate transformation of individual and social life throughout the world so that instead of mankind exterminating itself, it may declare again, "Thou has conquered, O Galilean." They will unite their forces, purify their lives, grapple directly with the forces of sin and selfishness within and without the Church, and identify themselves with every courageous group in every community that dares to affirm, "We are brethren; we intend to act as brethren at home and throughout the world."

Christians practicing Christ's gospel of brotherhood can save the world. But the time is short!

CHARLES J. TURC

### As the Chairman of the National Council of the Women's Organizations Sees It

The Church's message of love and brotherhood, of co-operation and understanding, has no horizon. If we are to begin to interpret this vital message we must take a positive stand against all kinds of discrimination, prejudice and inequalities. We must make the welfare of each individual the concern of all. Christ's teachings of generosity, humility, and the second mile must become the guiding principles of the new world organization now being built if we are to have peace over the earth. All the seemingly unsolvable problems would be solved if the wisdom and power of Christ's spirit were born in the minds and souls of men.

(MRS. PAUL) INEZ MOSE

# *The Atomic Bomb — Can We Control It?*

*By Richard D. Present\**

*The problem is much broader than international control of atomic energy, this scientist declares. The issue lies between world organization or world destruction.*

SHORTLY after the first atomic bombs were dropped on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there rose spontaneously at each of the four sites where the bomb was developed an association of scientists who felt it important to bring their views before the public. The Association of Los Alamos Scientists, the Association of Oak Ridge Scientists, the Atomic Scientists of Chicago, and the Association of Manhattan Project Scientists of New York City subscribed to almost identical aims and objectives, and their total membership includes nearly all the American scientists who worked on the bomb. These associations have now been amalgamated into a national organization known as the Federation of Atomic Scientists with the purpose of informing the public of the tremendous implications of our discoveries. We have thought longer about these matters than the layman or even the international expert was in a position to do, and we have come to certain conclusions of social, political and military importance.

We have created a new weapon

whose destructive power is almost incomparably greater than that of any previous weapon and which is capable of technological improvement. The Hiroshima bomb already is obsolete. It is possible to destroy a city as large as Washington with a few well-placed atomic bombs, and it would be interesting to speculate what the consequences would be if the President, his Cabinet, and the Congress were to disappear overnight. It is important to realize that atomic explosives can be used in a variety of ways, that they can replace ordinary explosives in mines, guided missiles, stratosphere rockets, et cetera. It is impossible to devise defensive techniques which could assure our cities of protection from all conceivable carriers of atomic explosives. Even if a specific defense were developed against a particular carrier, we must recognize that a resourceful enemy could develop counterdefensive techniques or employ other carriers. A defense that was ninety per cent effective could not save our cities from sudden annihilation. A defense is not found for every offensive weapon; millions of soldiers were killed by ordinary bullets in the last war.

\* An address before a seminar of social and religious leaders in Washington, D. C., November, 1945.

The technique of blitzkrieg is advanced to a new level by atomic weapons and the advantage is with the aggressor. The Pearl Harbor attack which destroyed a large part of our Pacific fleet may be dwarfed in the future by a lightning attack in which one quarter of the civilian population, the major part of our industry, the Panama Canal, and many important military installations are suddenly destroyed. This may be even a conservative estimate of the damage that could occur before we were in a position to retaliate, if retaliation were any longer possible. Since the number of bombs of the Hiroshima type required for a decisive stroke against even the greatest nation does not exceed a few thousand, it is clearly futile for a nation to accumulate a greater supply. This "saturation" property of atomic armaments will reduce all nations great or small to military equality, other things being equal. The military position of a country is then determined not by the number or quality of its bombs but by other factors, such as the geographical concentration of its population and industry. In this respect the United States is particularly vulnerable. The new order of magnitude of the destructive potential makes a qualitative change in the nature of warfare: the relations between nations come to resemble those between individuals armed with guns in the sense that a mortal wound can be ad-

ministered at the outset of hostilities and that only a small number of bullets or bombs are needed to destroy an enemy.

The next question to consider is how long the United States can maintain its present monopoly in the manufacture of atomic bombs. The fundamental scientific knowledge, both theoretical and experimental, is the common property of scientists of all nations. The exploitation of this knowledge to make an atomic bomb is a straightforward process which took the scientists of the United States, Great Britain, and Canada little over four years to carry out. In view of our own success and the publication of many details of the methods we used in the official Smyth Report, any competent group of scientists and engineers in other countries could reproduce or improve on our blueprints in considerably less than four years without any assistance from us. Nearly all details of our methods are known to the British scientists who worked with us, and some scientists of other nationalities who assisted us have already left this country. At the present time the production of atomic bombs requires an access to supplies of uranium and a few other strategic materials and the possession of considerable industrial resources and available power. The informed consensus is, however, that other major powers will have atomic bomb plans in about five years, and both Brita-

and the U. S. S. R. sooner than that.

Turning now from the military to the industrial aspects of atomic power, we see that the picture is superficially brighter. Unquestionably, atomic power can bring great benefits to mankind in a world free from the threat of war. The development for industrial purposes need take only a few years. Atomic power lends itself to large-scale use, e.g., power plants, but is not feasible for small-scale use, e.g., in automobiles or airplanes. . . . Because atomic power plants can be rapidly converted to wartime use, their development would create serious problems.

In the foregoing I have attempted to state the problem that confronts the world because of the advent of atomic power. It is not a problem in science but one in human relations, and its solution requires the understanding and good will of people all over the earth and the greatest wisdom from their leaders. We, the scientists who made the bomb, are frequently asked what should be done about it. When scientists begin to touch on matters outside their province, there is bound to be a divergence of views. Nevertheless, in this instance we are in overwhelming agreement. Since the defense of the United States can no longer be secured by itself alone, and since the price of victory in the next war may be the loss of half our civilian population, it is necessary

to bring about genuine international co-operation and to set up effective international machinery to keep the peace. The present course of drifting can lead only to catastrophe. . . .

The scientists are in agreement that the United States will forfeit its moral leadership if it does not take immediate steps to place atomic energy developments under international inspection and control. A mere agreement to renounce atomic weapons will not prevent their use in a future war. A policy of non-co-operation will force other countries to develop atomic bomb plants as rapidly as possible, and an atomic armaments race will ensue. An international commission of experts, created by the major powers, must have the right of free access to all of their territory and admission to laboratories, plants, et cetera. Other peace-loving nations should be invited to join. Nations refusing to co-operate with the commission must be inspected by the United Nations police force and their production facilities for atomic energy destroyed. When a member nation evades or violates the rules agreed upon this must be interpreted as an act of aggression. These are rough ideas the details of which will have to be worked out by experts. The problem is a much broader one than international control of atomic energy. It is to prevent another war; and only world government can do this.

# *The Church Speaks on Palestine*

## *A Digest \**

*The article "Conflict in Palestine," by Wendell Phillips, which appeared in the December issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, presented the problem of Palestine from the Zionist point of view. The following is a digest of the statement on the Arab-Zionist conflict, issued jointly by three representative Protestant groups, which seeks to analyze all the claims involved.<sup>1</sup>*

THE conference recalls Edward R. Murrow's recent warning that Christian America have a care "lest we bury our conscience in Palestine," and calls for a real and determined attack upon anti-Semitism "here and now."

Recognizing that the political decision on the status of Palestine rests in other hands, the conference says: "We feel a moral responsibility, however, both as Christians and as citizens. We are bound by spiritual ties to the Jewish people as well as to the Christian Arab community in Palestine. We also have a concern for non-Christian Arabs. While no Christian group can presume to say what line of action either party to the controversy should pursue, we venture this statement on the situation in a friendly spirit and in the hope that it may offer assistance in approaching a solution dependent on "the mutual confidence and good will" of all those involved."

\* From *Information Service*, Federal Council of Churches, October 27, 1945.

<sup>1</sup> The statement was first issued by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. It has been subsequently accepted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Home Missions Council.

### **A Problem and an Issue**

The statement continues: "The problems of the Jews who are now emerging in Europe from terrible experiences under Nazi tyranny concern every Christian. The urge to succor the suffering wells in our hearts. The question of the Jewish homeland in Palestine troubles our conscience. Both these concerns call for deep human understanding, for wisdom and cool judgment. Under both lies the old and ugly fact of anti-Semitism with its tragic and indelible imprint on all Jewish minds and hearts."

But, "one thing we are moved to ask: Does not the linking of the problem of rescue with the issue of Palestine create confusion and militate against solution of either? The refugee problem is immediate. It is complicated in Europe and elsewhere by national attitudes, the difficulties of property restoration, and general uncertainty regarding the nature of the re-emerging world. . . . Insistence by Jewish nationalists that Palestine is the only possible haven for Jewish refugees, in the face of

the political impasse in that country, seems to us definitely to obstruct their rescue by all other means. And does it not appear, further, that the presentation of Zionism as philanthropy obscures the real issue of Jewish nationalism?"

### Are Jews a Nation or a Religious Community?

Of the internal Jewish debate on the character of Judaism the conference says: "To many persons, both Jews and non-Jews, Jewish nationalism appears to be a philosophy of defeatism. They see security for Jews only in the sharing of democratic equality, enduring, sincere, and real, in the United States, in Poland, in Germany—in Palestine, and everywhere. From this point of view it seems to be a contradiction of the whole trend of Jewish life and thought for centuries that Jews should seek a solution in nationalism." But a nation is born of a people's will and "it is for Jews to decide whether they shall or shall not be a nation." Judaism, however, is divided on the question.

The conference urges: "It seems to us that a clean-cut decision is needed. A choice by which those Jews who believe in a Jewish nation would adhere to the national entity and those who recognize Judaism as primarily a religion would abstain unfortunately would, to be sure, split Judaism. But it should not prejudice the position in the lands of their

choice of those who elect not to participate in the Jewish national establishment. The position which advocates Jewish nationalism and abstains from personal identification with the nation is equivocal. Jewish nationalists who themselves remain Americans, Britons, Frenchmen, compromise all Jews enfranchised abroad as well as those now resident in Palestine.

"After this choice has been made (and many Jews will choose nationalism) a question remains which has been evaded—in the Balfour Declaration, in the Mandate for Palestine, and in almost all discussion of the issue. What temporal right is conferred by religious nostalgia? And what relation does it bear to the rights ordinarily assumed to inhere in continuous habitation?"

### Palestine Among the Nations

Tensions in the Near East, it is noted, involving France, Great Britain, Russia, most of the Moslem states, and the United States of America, enhance the critical nature of the impasse. "An incipient cultural renaissance is working in Islam. Nationalism has been reborn in the Arab world. Independence is demanded in Moslem India, in Syria and Lebanon, and in Palestine. Iraq, Iran, and Egypt are restive under foreign 'influence' and tutelage. The League of Nations principle of 'self-determination of peoples' and

its dictum that the independence of certain former sections of the Turkish Empire could be 'provisionally recognized' have not been forgotten."

Furthermore, "the Soviet Union has opposed Zionism as being out of line with her own policy of giving complete equality in law and opportunity to Jews. . . . It seems to us that careful thought must now be given to a situation which, if allowed to drift, may place the Soviet Union and the United States on opposite sides in a dangerous international issue."

### Jewish and Arab Feeling

"The historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine," recognized in the Preamble of the Mandate for Palestine, is "a very impressive and deeply human fact." The Jewish attitude toward that tradition "has been cultivated through centuries of worship and religious teaching and it commands passionate devotion." Nevertheless, there are "numbers of Jews to whom the Holy Land is dear who do not interpret the return to Zion in physical or geographical terms; to them Zion is wholly of the Spirit.

"Palestine is also to Christians the Holy Land. But for them it is a memorial of our Lord. Its religious appeal for Christendom at large is untinged by racial or national memories. For Moslems all three elements are present—race, nation,

religion. Islamic establishments in Palestine include the important educational devotional centers of a living religion and its principal centers of activity. Jerusalem is for them, as for Jews, a holy city.

### Immigration

On the crucial point of immigration control the conference has this to say: "Much support in money and political influence for the Jewish colony in Palestine has come from the United States and Great Britain. The bulk of the actual immigration, however, has been from the countries of eastern Europe. Much of this area is now under Soviet occupation or influence. Jews have not been allowed to emigrate to Palestine from Soviet territory. Jews resident in France, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Italy will probably elect to remain there. Others may go to these countries, where the Jewish communities have been decimated. . . . In these circumstances there appears to be little likelihood that Jews can ever achieve a majority in Palestine even if all restrictions upon entry should be abandoned."

Of Jewish objections to the White Paper restrictions the conference says in part: "It should be remembered in this connection that renunciation of conqueror's rights by the Principal Allied Powers preceded the establishment of the mandate

*(Continued on page 36)*

# *Children Adrift in Europe*

*By Katharine Clark \**

A SMALL boy placed a stump on a shoeshine box. It was a badly festered stump but it was all that remained of his right foot. The boy grinned and asked for a shoeshine. His humor was grim but the conduct of the shoeshine man was worse, for he shoved the boy away with indifference, even with boredom. This was Poland and small boys without feet are common sights in Warsaw.

I don't believe the stump shocked me, although I had been there only five days. Then suddenly I drew myself up sharply. This, I thought, is what is really wrong. That I or anyone could feel familiar with such sights is worse even than the sights themselves. Where the Germans have been east of the Oder, brutality has been the common denominator. Everyone has been touched by it to some extent. The little Polish boy had learned to laugh at his disability but the people around him had come to take such disability for granted!

I talked to him for a short time. He had no parents. He lived in Warsaw only because that was where he had always lived. There are no homes for Poles in Warsaw today. He, like the rest of the people, lived

in whatever rubble pile seemed the warmest or driest. He ate what anyone gave him or what he could steal. There had been a time when even strangers had shared but those days were in the past. The great and terrible inner battle when General Bor and his patriots fought through each street and home in Warsaw against the Germans had changed all that. Now everyone was in the common classification of homeless, hungry, and hopeless. Even those who might manage to have something had been through such terrible days that they thought little of sharing, more of hanging onto whatever they had for themselves and their families—if they were lucky enough to have families intact. Their sensibilities had been worn thin. Distress had become a common sight against which you steeled yourself. Even I was full of it. Emotional satiety had blinded me. It was becoming increasingly hard to greet each new individual disaster with fullhearted sympathy. However, I took myself to task and persuaded young Jon to go home with me.

"Home" meant the deserted railroad car in which I lived. But "deserted" is not quite the word to describe it. The car actually teemed with humanity in all stages of distress, hunger, and undress. Two

\* War correspondent for radio station WCAU (Philadelphia), and the first correspondent to get into Warsaw, Poland, from the West. Having gone into Europe shortly after V-E Day, she was in Berlin when V-J Day came.

other Polish boys, one nine and the other twelve, were living with me. One boy was witless. He spoke only of his last reality—the execution of his mother!

Both boys and Jon were excellent thieves. They took whatever they could find, for they wanted to stay alive. Nor is it only Polish children who face such bitter realities. We had other boys on the train. They were sixteen and seventeen. They came from Lorraine and had been pressed into German service. Lorraine is one of the unhappy lands which, after one war, belongs to one nation, and after the next war must needs change sides. These boys spoke German better than they did French but they sided with the French. They were not siding with a nationality. They were not siding consciously with what they thought was good. They were siding only against what they were positive was wrong; and that was Germany. Yet Germany had trapped them. They had been laborers for Germany and when rescued by the Russians they had been subject to grave suspicion not only because their French was poor but because they were in German uniforms. Brave French nurses and women doctors had taken an ambulance all the way to Memel and talked the Russians into releasing them, for their condition was deplorable.

We who live in America cannot begin to understand the individual

cases of Europe. We can be told that millions are on the road, wandering aimless and homeless. Yet we cannot grasp the full meaning. We cannot begin to realize that each individual tragedy is multiplied a thousandfold.

But if our sympathy cannot be touched, our common sense must be. We may judge and damn the system which created such calamity. We can send the condemned Germans to their execution but what can we do about indifference and those thousands of human beings who will die this winter if nations wait too long with formalities? Who will judge us and punish? And who here can dare judge the next generation of Europe if it grows up to be a generation of thieves? Who will dare condemn as evil a generation which quite likely will follow the first leaders offering bread and a roof?

When I left Warsaw all I could hope for was that my boys would not be shot as thieves before the winter ended, or freeze to death because of indifference. Jon and his companions and all the children of Europe are to be the neighbors of my child and yours. Surely our common sense, if not our moral fiber, must realize that starving, ill, miserable neighbors are a menace to the peacefulness of the neighborhood.

The next generations are also in the enemy lands. I saw in a hospital in Berlin a baby eighteen months old

who weighed five pounds—two pounds less than normal birth weight! Like a grotesque paper doll she lay beside victims of diphtheria and typhus. Her face was black with flies we could not keep out for lack of screens or window glass. Yet the doctor assured me she would live. She too will be my son's neighbor. Do I say her father died fighting for an evil cause, or do I remember what General Eisenhower has said: "Children have no nationality; they belong to the world"? If they belong to the world, then the world must

remember its responsibility. Whatever she becomes—whether a good neighbor or a bad neighbor for my son—only *we* can be held responsible, for only we are left. In the chaos of humanity today only we have the strength, the health, the wealth and the tools needed for rebuilding. We can punish the Nazi leaders of Germany but who will punish us for the distress and deaths of this coming winter? And if our indifference cannot be punished now, its results will be the punishment to be visited on our sons.

---

### *Because I Have Been Given Much \**

*Because I have been given much,  
I, too, must give:  
Because of Thy great bounty, Lord,  
Each day I live,  
I shall divide my gifts from Thee  
With ev'ry brother that I see  
Who has the need of help from me.*

*Because I have been sheltered, fed,  
By Thy good care,  
I cannot see another's lack  
And I not share  
My glowing fire, my loaf of bread,  
My roof's shelter overhead,  
That he, too, may be comforted.*

*Because love has been lavished so  
Upon me, Lord,  
A wealth I know that was not meant  
For me to hoard,  
I shall give love to those in need,  
Shall show that love by word and deed,  
Thus shall my thanks be thanks indeed.*

GRACE NOLL CROWELL

\* From *Light of the Years*. Harper & Brothers. Used with permission.

# *How Can We Get Along with Russia?*

*An Inquiry Into the Fundamentals of Our Present Relations with the Soviet Union*

*By Anne O'Hare McCormick*

*From THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, October 28, 1945. Used with permission.*

PEACEMAKING, instead of being a unifying process like war, is a dividing process. That is the elementary lesson the victors are learning, for the answer to the questions that peacemaking poses is not the comparatively simple one of concentrating force against an enemy. Instead, the allies must be persuaded to see a many-faceted problem—the peace treaty with Italy, for instance, or the future of Germany—as a whole and indivisible problem.

Peacemaking imposes a strain upon the mind very much like the strain slugging over the stony vertebrae of the Italian peninsula put upon the bodily endurance of the soldiers who waged that inhuman campaign. Yet the endless obstacles on the road to peace have to be overcome as the Apennines were conquered.

They have to be overcome, in the first place, by America and Russia, for the two countries coming out of the war with preponderant power carry the responsibility of holding the world in balance. There can be no equilibrium unless they agree. Europe has lost the war to America and Russia and whether Asia has won

it depends on American-Russian collaboration. The importance of this partnership is so great, in fact, that it is recognized by every nation as the prime condition of peace on earth—anywhere on earth.

Russia wants nothing that we want and we want nothing that Russia wants—except peace and security and if we both want these conquests hard enough to pay the full price for them the United Nations will become the guardian of peace.

Nor has Russia turned her back on the movement for world order. The paradox is that while on one hand she moves to subordinate another wall in all of eastern Europe in the name of her own security, on the other hand she takes full part in the work of the United Nations commission to speed up the realization of an international security system.

As an indication of her intention this action is certainly as significant as the signals pointing the other way. The closest students of the evolution of the Soviet ruling mind are agreed that victorious Russia desires to be a respected member of the international community—on her own terms, if possible, but certainly on

ome terms. Add to that premise another: at no foreseeable time will the Soviet Union initiate a conflict with the United States or the United States with the Soviet Union.

If it can be assumed that these two premises are as axiomatic as anything can be in human affairs, then the differences between the two countries can be placed in their proper context and their true proportions.

These differences are at bottom ideological, but that does not make the problem of co-operation easier. A clash of national interests is a concrete issue that can eventually be compromised with good will and a clear appreciation of the distinction between cardinal and secondary interests. Two systems of government can work together in external affairs if each recognizes the demarcation line and respects it.

It is childish to pretend that it is simple for a free-enterprise economy to trade with a completely state-controlled economy or for a representative government on the American model to deal on equal political terms with a dictatorship. But a *modus vivendi* between these opposites can be worked out.

The headache starts when mental concepts differ and two peoples use the same words in different senses. Foreign Commissar Molotoff claimed at London that the British and American delegates did not stick to the letter of the instructions issued

at Potsdam. He devoted a press conference and several sessions of the Council to insisting that the Bulgarian and Rumanian Governments are completely democratic.

There is no reason to doubt that the Russians sincerely believe in their definitions. Not only is their idea of freedom not the same as ours; they have lived for nearly thirty years immured in a house papered with slogans describing the outside world as hostile to their idea and conspiring to destroy it. Outsiders see the Soviet Government using the Communist party and the techniques developed in establishing the party dictatorship in Russia as instruments of old-fashioned imperialism, but Moscow sees Britain and the United States employing democratic slogans for the same purpose.

There is no meeting of minds, so that even our disagreements with Russia, unlike our disagreements with Britain or France, are not argued out from known premises or fought out on common ground. Russia has never really mingled with Europe or shared the great intellectual and social experiences that have shaped the Western mentality—the Renaissance, the Reformation, the democratic revolution of the eighteenth century, and the industrial revolution of the nineteenth.

Thus in nearly every dissension that arises between Russia and her allies there is a fundamental in-

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# *Congscription*

*By F. Richard Williams\**

*The following article is one of several unsolicited manuscripts received from chaplains in the armed forces. A second manuscript, written by an Army chaplain, will appear in an early issue.*

LET us be sure that we are talking about conscription. Some people talk of compulsory military training, others about universal training, still others talk of Government instruction. But, call it what you will, if it is compulsory it is just plain conscription. Furthermore, if the Army or Navy has anything to do with it, it will be military conscription. We do not need to worry about the certainty that the problem we face is military conscription. It would be gross foolishness for the Government to sponsor any kind of conscription other than military conscription. A year of compulsory physical and educational training could be accomplished more cheaply and with more efficiency by our colleges and universities. So, the question stands: "Why not a year of military conscription for all young men between 17 and 20?"

The first of the arguments set forth by those in favor of peacetime conscription is that discipline aids in the development of a youth's character. As a civilian I would probably never have asked myself the question,

"What is military discipline?" For as a civilian I thought I had a fair good idea of the subject—had I not joined the Navy. How different military discipline actually is from my civilian conception! In fact discipline is not actually the word that should be used for military life. The best description would honest be "blind submission to authority." The point to be made here is that discipline worthy of the name has as its main object to teach one how to discipline oneself; to teach one persistence, which becomes in time self-imposed persistence at some creative endeavor. Discipline deals directly with the training of one's mental process of thinking and the establishment of good habits. Good discipline will prevent a constant inner quibbling with oneself concerning everyday decisions which the common man is called upon to make.

On the whole, this kind of discipline is almost totally lacking from the military system as it exists today. A man wears his uniform strictly in accordance with the book; turns up for duty at a specific time; stops to work at a specific time; takes his liberty and leaves at a specific time.

\* Commander, Chaplains Corps, United States Navy Reserve.

hereby starting and returning as has been scheduled for him by someone else. Such discipline is not true discipline in an honest sense of the word. The whole idea of military discipline is the indoctrination of a man to do exactly what he is told, so that in time of combat and regardless of danger he will follow orders automatically. To be strictly honest, the aim and end of military discipline is to form the habit of not thinking. This is not the kind of discipline life demands. Moreover, any period of a man's life where such so-called discipline is imposed upon him cannot but endanger his ability to cope with the problems of everyday life. The condition just described is unnatural.

These points which have just been made concerning discipline are bad enough, but one can go even a step farther. Military discipline actually encourages a kind of regression in behavior and conduct. By this I mean the commonly noted traits of dependence, extreme lack of concern toward political, social, and economic problems, and a loss of grasp of the everyday details of life.

The second of the arguments set forth by those in favor of peacetime conscription is that the environment of a military organization aids in the building of a good basic philosophy. For a period of time—a year is proposed—a young man finds himself existing on a dole system. A compulsory dole system. It is very easy for one to quickly get used to the

idea of being taken care of and given the necessities of existence. Made at all pleasant, it is very hard to break away. If the youth of our country do not have a sense of social and political responsibility, a sense of responsibility for their own growth and development, the very future of our country is at stake. Between the ages of 17 and 22 is the very time when a young man should be forming his own basic philosophy. To be taken out of the realm of reality will surely have damaging results.

Naturally it is hard to understand the argument of the militarist, since the Army and Navy themselves are organizations without a philosophy. Technically our military leaders carry out orders and do not use their organizations to support their own personal philosophy. In turn, the average soldier and sailor is expected to follow orders given to him without any concern of the end resulting from his actions. Brought down to the specific individual, this means that while serving in the armed forces no effort is made to develop a man's personal basic philosophy. In fact, the common soldier is expected to have only one philosophy, "to do what he is told." Therefore, while a man is serving in the armed forces, the personal privilege of having a right to question the end to be brought about by his action is denied. The forces which

*(Continued on page 33)*

# *UAW vs. GM*

## *An Analysis*

*From THE NEW YORK TIMES, November 25, 1945. Used with permission.*

### **A Broad Battle Opens**

AT THE stroke of 11 A.M. (Eastern time) on Wednesday, November 21, 180,000 General Motors workers in twenty states stretching across the country laid down their tools and walked quietly into the streets. Thus, with no more fanfare than attends "knocking off" on a usual workday, began the first great strike of the reconversion period. The walkout had grave significance not only for the automobile industry but for the entire national economy as well.

The strike at GM is the big offensive of the United Automobile Workers' campaign to force the entire motor industry to maintain take-home pay for the shorter peacetime work week at the same levels as in wartime. The strategy, outlined two months ago by R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW, is this: divide and conquer, strike General Motors and maintain full production at the plants of its principal rivals. In the highly competitive automobile field, the UAW reasons, GM will be forced to come quickly to terms or see leadership in the auto field go to its rivals.

*Ramified Effects.* The strike comes in the midseason of reconversion, when GM along with other

companies is tooling plants and aligning assembly conveyors for full production. Besides the 180,000 GM workers who walked out, the strike affects another 150,000 who were to be rehired by the corporation as production increased; thousands of salesmen and sales workers in GM agencies throughout the country and potentially 300,000 employees of other automobile firms.

GM supplies parts to most of its rivals. It also takes 60 per cent of the output of hundreds of independent auto-parts firms. These suppliers, it was reported in Detroit, might find it uneconomical to operate at the reduced volume and be forced to close, possibly shutting down Ford, Chrysler, and others.

While the General Motors Corporation and the GM Division of the UAW feel the immediate impact most directly, the strike has important significance for American industry and for the nation's economy as a whole. One out of every seven American families has a personal financial stake in the automobile industry, as stockholders or workers in the industry itself or in farms and firms that provide the raw and fabricated materials for automobiles. The importance of the industry in the national economy is shown in the

fact that \$25 out of every \$100 worth of war materials was turned out by the auto industry. The auto industry takes three quarters of the national output of plate glass and rubber; two thirds of all upholstery leather; one half of all malleable iron; one third of all lead; almost one fifth of all steel; more than one tenth of all copper.

*Strike Pattern.* Because of the importance of the auto industry the outcome of the GM strike seems likely to set the pattern for other labor disputes. The final chapter before the strike took place in the UAW's Detroit headquarters on Monday, November 19, when 200 representatives of over 100 UAW locals gathered to decide action. A 2,000-word restatement of the union's position was sent to C. E. Wilson, president of GM, asking the corporation to agree by 4 P.M. on Tuesday to arbitration of the union-management differences by a three-man board, which would have access to the corporation's books. "We prefer the conference table and the hearing room to the picket line. Do you?" the statement said.

On Tuesday the corporation briefly informed the union that its answer would not be ready until Friday. The UAW delegates met and voted the strike, which had been authorized by the general membership on Oct. 24. The next morning the walkout began and two days later GM's reply to the union

"ultimatum" was received. It said: "Stripped of its deception, the union proposed that General Motors relinquish its rights to manage its business. This was not an offer for arbitration but a demand for abdication. General Motors, of course, rejects such a demand."

### The Issues at GM

The issue in the GM strike is the issue that is always basic in labor unrest—wages. In three months of charges and countercharges, demands and counterdemands, the UAW and GM have defined their positions.

*The demand:* The UAW wants a flat hourly wage increase of 30 per cent to bring peacetime wages for forty hours up to the same level that a worker got in wartime for forty-eight hours (eight of them at time and a half). In terms of dollars this would mean an increase in the hourly rate from \$1.12 to \$1.46 an hour or from \$44.80 to \$58.40 weekly, the union claims. The union argues that GM can pay this increase without increasing prices and still make, on the basis of the expected production expansion, almost double the average annual profit it earned for the years 1935-1939. The UAW offered to "withdraw the wage demand" if GM could prove that an increase of prices was necessary to meet it. The UAW asserted GM's refusal to discuss its profits in negotiations was evidence that the

corporation, bent on a strike, was employing "union-busting" tactics.

*GM's answer:* The corporation—together with Ford and Chrysler, its two principal competitors—rejects the demand and terms the UAW analysis of prospective profits as "Alice in Wonderland economics." It argues (1) that present prices will not permit extensive wage increases without a compensating increase in production; (2) that the "going wage" rates in the entire industry rather than the profits of an individual company determine wages. In a counterproposal to the union, GM offered a flat 10 per cent increase in wages and suggested a forty-five-hour week. This, it claimed, would bring average take-home pay to 6 per cent above the wartime level. The offer is, the corporation said, "as far as we can go at this time." GM denies it is trying to break the union, but assails the UAW leaders as "irresponsible men" who want to usurp management's prerogatives.

### The Opposing Forces

As the strike began these were the relative positions of GM and UAW:

*General Motors:* At the peak of war production GM employed 504,000 workers, one out of every thirty union workers in America. Its peacetime program called for an employee staff of 400,000. Its 110 plants in twenty states occupy floor space twice the area of New York

City's Central Park. With total assets of \$2.2 billion and liquid assets of \$1.1 billion it is in a financially strong position to fight a strike. Moreover, if the strike cuts heavily into profits the corporation can claim rebates from the Government on excess-profits taxes paid in the war years. Were GM to be shut down for the entire year of 1946 it could claim a maximum rebate of \$160 million—which, with other income not affected by the strike, would still leave a profit of \$30 million without the sale of a single product.

*United Automobile Workers:* Against GM's powerful corporate structure the UAW brings the weight of the world's largest union, with peak membership of 1,300,000. A young union—it was formed only ten years ago and won GM recognition in the violent strikes in 1937—the UAW claims to have raised auto workers' wages in ten years from a yearly average of \$830 to \$2,520. But despite its numbers and prestige the UAW is weak financially. The entire union has a strike fund of \$2 million to \$4 million; the GM division has only \$500,000. On the other hand the UAW can count on the relatively favorable position of many of its individual members. Some are eligible for unemployment benefits. . . . Most UAW members have reserves in the form of bonds and many union members among the national CIO membership of 5 million can be counted on to help

# *Wages and Profits \**

## *A Labor View*

OUR country's most urgent task today is to finish the job of reconversion and get to full production as quickly as possible. The only way we can avoid inflation is by maintaining maximum production. If we fail to reach full production quickly we face economic disaster, mounting unemployment and a situation where it will be impossible to maintain high wages. Full production alone can give us enough goods to help supply Europe's needy and starving people. The present emergency calls for the same spirit, the same concerted effort of all groups that won the war.

In order to achieve full production there must be agreements made in good faith between management and labor on just compensation for work, and with ample provisions for dealing with problems arising under the agreement. Agreements must be executed in good faith by both employers and unions. Unions have the discipline by which to make good on agreements. Managements should have equal provisions for making good.

Many vital considerations are back of labor's demand for substantial wage increases now. During

the war we agreed to many limitations on our freedom because winning the war mattered more to us than anything else. We waived our right to strike; we accepted manpower regulations freezing us to our jobs; we accepted the Little Steel Formula which froze our wages at 15% above January, 1941, while living costs rose more than 30%; the overtime pay which helped to fill this gap is now ended and we are being forced back to a living standard below the Pearl Harbor period.

Now that the war is over, what do we find? Congress has provided many laws to protect business in the reconversion period. The carry back provisions in tax laws act as a "guarantee" of profits;<sup>1</sup> the excess profits tax is to be lifted on January 1, 1946; help is provided in contract settlement and in other ways. But Congress has refused to protect labor by passing the Unemployment Compensation Bill, the Full Employment Bill or the 65¢ Minimum Wage Bill. Now that overtime is ended, millions of us are taking cuts of 20% to 35% or more in weekly pay; others are taking new jobs at great reductions in wages; millions are unemployed.

\* From *Labor's Monthly Survey*. November, 1945, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.

<sup>1</sup> Employers who have paid excess profits taxes (some 65,000) may secure refunds from their tax payments if their profits fall below their average profit from 1936 to 1939.

We have heard much said about high wartime wages. But the following facts are not so generally known: Corporation profits from 1939 to 1945, according to calculations based on U.S. Commerce Department figures, show 266% increase before taxes, 120% after taxes. Farmers' income in the same period shows 196%; business proprietors, 100%; and industrial workers, 67%. These increases, with the exception of corporation profits, are computed *before* taxes—the workers' income calculated for 1945 includes overtime during eight months of the year. Without overtime in 1946, the rate of income will be considerably lower.

While workers' right to strike was waived during war and incomes held down, incomes of other groups were permitted to rise far more than ours. From 1939 to 1945, the average farmer increased his income three times as much as the average industrial worker; the average business man operating an unincorporated business raised his income 50% more than the worker. Corporation profit rose four times as much as the average worker's income, and corporation earnings on net worth rose more than three times as much.<sup>2</sup> (All these increases are before taxes. All groups are subject to heavy taxes.)

<sup>2</sup> Earnings on net worth of all corporations, before taxes, were 4.3% in 1939 and about 13% in 1945, according to figures from the U.S. Commerce Department and the Federal Reserve Board. 1945 corporation profit before taxes estimated by AFL from Government figures.

## Workers Ask for a Square Deal

Workers' income gains have fallen behind the gains of others during the war. It will take a substantial wage increase to bring us back to our rightful place. Production is a joint enterprise in which the production of each group is indispensable. Each group should share proportionately in progress.

We ask that the scores be evened up and that our income be increased in proportion to our increasing productivity which was never compensated. During the war, workers' increased productivity resulted in an increase in corporation profits before taxes from \$5,460 million in 1939 to \$24,900 million in 1944, but our wage rates were frozen and we did not share proportionately in this increase. Today our average yearly income is cut back from \$2,300 in 1944 to \$1,900, as estimated by the Labor Department after overtime is ended. According to the Heller Committee peacetime budget at August, 1945, prices it costs \$2,800 a year to support a family of four at a health and efficiency level of living.

An examination of the following listing of straight-time average hourly earnings in 20 major American manufacturing industries will indicate that even the highest average wage for a 40-hour week is not sufficient to provide a family of four at a health and efficiency level, and in 8 industry groups the average wage is below a bare subsistence level.

**Straight-Time Average Hourly Earnings in 20 American Major Manufacturing Industries—June, 1945<sup>3</sup>**

<b>Adequate wage for health &amp; efficiency</b>	.....	\$1.44
Transportation equipment, except automobiles	.....	\$1.20
Automobiles	.....	\$1.19
Products of Petroleum and Coal	.....	\$1.10
Printing, publishing & allied industries	.....	\$1.08
Rubber products	.....	\$1.06
Machinery, except electrical	.....	\$1.05
Iron and steel & their products	.....	\$1.03
Nonferrous metals & their products	.....	\$1.00
Electrical machinery	.....	.99
Chemicals and allied products	.....	.93
Miscellaneous industries	.....	.93
Stone, clay & glass products	.....	.87
<b>Minimum wage for bare subsistence</b>	.....	.87
Apparel & other finished textile products	.....	.83
Leather and leather products	.....	.82
Food	.....	.82
Paper and allied products	.....	.82
Furniture & finished lumber products	.....	.81
Lumber & timber basic products	.....	.77
Textile-mill products & other fiber manufactures	.....	.73
Tobacco manufactures	.....	.72

An income of \$1,900 at today's high prices places us below the living standard we had at the time of Pearl Harbor. Meanwhile industry's profits as a whole are well maintained this year, and forecasts for 1946 show that if reconversion proceeds as expected, American companies will earn substantial profits next year. And with the excess profits tax lifted, corporation profits after taxes are expected to be higher

than at any other time in history. Compared to the prewar profit peak of \$7,194 million after taxes in 1929, and the wartime peak of \$9,900 million in 1944, corporation profits in 1946 after taxes are forecast at \$10,200 million. The earnings of corporations on their investment or net worth will be even farther above the prewar 1929 peak, for net worth in 1945 is less than in 1929.

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<sup>3</sup> Source: U.S. Labor Department. Health and Efficiency Wage represents Heller Committee Peacetime Budget on a 40-hour week; Bare Subsistence Wage represents Labor Department Maintenance Budget.

## *Washington Political Seminar*

*As a part of its program for a trained leadership, the Department of Social Education and Action, in co-operation with similar groups in other denominations, invited a group of leaders in the field of Social Education and Action to go to Washington for a three-day political seminar. This gathering, early in November, was the second such meeting within a year. The following reports are written by two members of that group.*

### **Social Action for a New Era**

In *Atomic Energy*, by Henry D. Smyth, there is the following description of the reactions of the scientists to the successful release of atomic energy in the New Mexico desert: "All seemed to feel that they had been present at the birth of a new age. The Age of Atomic Energy—and felt their profound responsibility to help in guiding into right channels the tremendous forces which had been unlocked for the first time in history." In another section the report states: "These questions are not technical questions; they are political and social questions and the answers given them may affect all mankind for generations. In a free country like ours questions should be debated by the people and decisions must be made by the people through their representatives."

These statements describe the point of view of every speaker who addressed the political seminar. The young scientist told us that he expected to spend the following weeks explaining to religious groups the magnitude of the newly discovered power. As we listened we became convinced that the Church must join in the crusade of the scientists to save mankind from utter destruction. A Congressman stated that we must realize that we are living in an age different from the one that existed before August 6, and must act accordingly. We were impressed by the seriousness of the task which our country faces and of the necessity for building a world organization that will eliminate war as a method of settling disputes, if humanity is to survive. The atomic bomb was constantly in our thoughts, and was as apt to rear its head in the discussion of full employment, F.E.P.C., and minimum wage as in questions relating to universal military training and our foreign policy. In fact, we became increasingly aware that our foreign and domestic policies are inextricably bound together.

I was greatly impressed by the ability, sincerity, and leadership of the Congressmen and other Government officials who talked with us about pending legislation. One hears so much that is uncomplimentary about our legislators that it was a heartening experience to realize that we do have Congress men of high caliber who place the welfare of our country and

orld above partisan politics. It was sobering and challenging to discover that they felt it important to meet with this group of Church leaders.

As we assembled for our first meeting one could not fail to be impressed with the youthfulness of the majority of the delegates and their keenness in tackling the questions under discussion. They came from as far south as Texas, as far west as California, as far north as Maine, but the majority of us were from the eastern section of the country. The days we had together were full and rich in Christian fellowship and challenge. The program was exceptionally well planned yet flexible, and its success was, we felt, due in large part to the wise leadership of the planning committee.

The seminar is an excellent technique for the training of leaders. It affords a firsthand contact with the procedures of our Government. In his opening address, Representative Jerry Voorhis, of California, explained the legislative process to us: how bills originate; what happens to them after they are introduced; and how, when, and on whom to bring pressure for action. He emphasized the importance of testifying at committee hearings and urged the Protestant Churches to make their point of view known through the Federal Council of Churches, through their own denominational channels, and as individual Christian citizens.

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## We Saw Democracy at Work

Three days at the Washington Seminar left me with the distinct impression that America's foreign policy is deteriorating fast! Nationalism in its contest with internationalism is gaining the upper hand. It will take a frantic effort to turn the tide.

Of course there are reasons for this generalization. First of all, there is the matter of the atom bomb. Since the date of the seminar the Atlee-Truman-King conference has been held, and the condition is a little more hopeful. But there are still in the halls of Congress—and probably in the news of our churches—great numbers of people who prefer to “hide it” rather than to “share it,” who prefer nationalism to internationalism.

Then there is the problem of food. At the present writing rationing in this country has gone, except for sugar. “We have loosened our belts,” said an official of the State Department, “while Europeans chew their belts.” An UNRRA representative told us that on November 1 the \$550,000,000 installment which we had promised was due. At this writing, November 24, the matter is not yet decided. Meanwhile millions of Europeans are hungry and starving! And they know that America has enough food so that it can

discard rationing. Isn't our national self-interest getting the better of our international concern for others?

Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, called our attention to the fact that the United Nations Charter does not contain any clause for the compulsory arbitration of international disputes. Here again we have been more concerned about our national rights than we have been about the practical effectiveness of an international organization for world peace.

Regardless of one's attitude toward the May Bill (H.R. 515) for universal military training one cannot escape the nationalistic meaning of such a law. We were told that Russia has been quick to see this and is asking whether harmony there is between the internationalism of the San Francisco Conference and the current American drive for a large military reserve.

But another and more wholesome impression gained through the Washington Seminar experience was of the marvelous simplicity and freedom of our form of government. I believe it was the freedom of access to our Government officials that greatly impressed us. They were not only accessible in person but their minds were open to suggestion. Both Representatives and Senators were easy to see and willing to engage in a give-and-take discussion. State Department officials and agency representatives were more guarded in their opinions but even they submitted to questioning with no disdain and with the utmost of good will.

It might be noted here that some of our delegates had a private interview with Senator Bilbo, of Mississippi, and most of us heard a lengthy speech by Congressman John Rankin on the floor of the House. The fact that either one of these memorable ventures could take place at all is a tribute to the worth of the democratic form of government!

But as far as I am concerned the hearing which we attended before the House Military Affairs Committee illuminated the practical workings of the Republic to the best possible advantage. The subject under discussion was the May Bill on universal military training. The first witness to be heard was the Honorable Robert Patterson, Secretary of War. Present also were the National Commander of the American Legion and the President of the American Legion Auxiliary.

Before Mr. Patterson read his statement on military training, Mr. Andrew May, chairman of the committee, said a very significant thing: "We shall hear from Mr. Patterson and then other scheduled witnesses. And then we shall be very liberal in our hearing of testimony. Anyone who really has something worth-while to say for or against this bill will be heard." Now this we felt was real democracy!

*(Continued on page 37)*

## POLITICAL ACTION

**Atomic Energy.** Both houses of Congress are endeavoring to formulate legislation indicating our national policy with respect to atomic energy. The scientists of our country and of the world who are interested in the development of the atomic bomb are consistently trying to acquaint the public with the facts in order that a worthy national policy may be followed. Think over the following quotations: "We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force, to prevent its misuse and to turn it into channels of service to mankind. It is an awful responsibility that comes to us."—President Truman. If atomic bombs are made in one country, they will be made in all industrial countries of the world.

If atomic bombs are made in all those countries, we will spend all our days in daily fear that they will be used, and in time they undoubtedly will be used. No atomic bombs must be made anywhere in the world, and they must not be in the possession of any Government of any kind.

The peacetime application of atomic energy or, in fact, of anything else is of importance unless the danger of atomic bombs is banished from the earth." Professor Harold C. Urey, one of the leading scientists who worked on the bomb.

Write to the President, commending him on his statement, made November 15, 1945, that the United Nations Organization must be made the custodian of atomic energy and that we would share with other nations responsibility to see that atomic bombs were not manufactured and that the energy is controlled for the benefit of mankind. Let your Senators and your Congressmen know your conviction on this matter.

**Health Plan.** On November 19, 1945, President Truman proposed to Congress

a national health program. The bills which were introduced both in the House and in the Senate immediately following the President's proposal were to do five things:

Assure that adequate public health services are available in all parts of the country.

Authorize Federal grants to states for medical care for persons receiving public assistance.

Set up a nation-wide health insurance program.

Authorize grants to nonprofit institutions engaged in research and professional education.

Place the administration of the program under the surgeon general, a doctor.

The bill before the Senate introduced by Senators Wagner, Murray, and Dingell is in the hands of the Senate Education and Labor Committee, Senator James E. Murray, Montana, chairman. The bill introduced into the House is in the hands of the House Interstate Commerce Committee. Representative Clarence F. Lea, California, is chairman of the House committee considering this bill. This proposed legislation is bound to be the subject of much discussion. Facts in the relation to the national health situation have been dramatically presented by discoveries during the examination of men for service. On April 1, 1945, nearly five million male registrants, 18 to 37, had been examined and classified as unfit for military service. There will be sharp differences of opinion as to whether or not this proposed legislation will be in the direction of curing such a situation.

The informed convictions of conscientious citizens may determine a national policy which is being formed in these days, one which may have far-reaching consequences in our American society. Let your Representatives know your views.

# *The Workshop*

**Help for Europe.** Why not stir your group to action by using six minutes to read aloud the article by Katharine Clark, "Children Adrift in Europe," page 13? In addition you may want to give them the following information from the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10:

"Asserting that 'helpless children cannot survive much longer unless there is a united effort to save them'" five major international agencies concerned with European relief appealed today for help from America.

The World Council of Churches, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the World Jewish Congress, the Save the Children International Union, and Catholic Charities pledged themselves, "to work together in meeting needs without regard to nationality, race, or creed."

The World Council in Geneva said the proposal in no way assumed the responsibility of UNRRA or military governments.

**Church Generosity Jams a Kansan Flour Mill.** Dr. Leslie B. Moss, director of the CCORR committee, admitted that handling the flour and the tons of other relief goods consigned to CCORR for overseas delivery had become a headache—but the best headache he ever had.

"When we started organizing a material aid program a few months ago, seven pounds of clothing arrived at our New Windsor, Maryland, warehouse. By November 3, twenty-four tons of bedding, clothing, and shoes had arrived," Dr. Moss said.

"Not only are we getting clothing and bedding but offers of cattle, soap, seeds. Now we are planning shipments of 550 tons of flour."

**A Church at Work for UNRRA.** Social education and action are both a

vital part of the services of the Calvary Presbyterian Church, Wyncote, Pa., James Golden Miller, minister. On World War II Sunday as a supplement to the Church calendar each person was given a mimeographed sheet explaining the situation regarding UNRRA. Our moral responsibility as Christians, both for keeping our pledge made to UNRRA and to provide for its operation next year, was pointed out. At the bottom of the sheet was a paragraph headed "YOUR PART." The quote: "If you feel that Christ would want the American Government to strengthen the hands of UNRRA in the light of the foregoing facts, and that you as a part of the Church, the body of Christ, are obligated to do what you can to bring about such governmental action, will you not want to send off a letter at the close of the Church service this morning or when you go home?"

"There will be all the materials necessary for writing to Pennsylvania Senator [unclear] regarding the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) in the Intermediate room in the rear of the sanctuary at the close of this service. Form letters which require only a signature are also available. This service is offered to you by the Board of Deacons."

Write to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 1344 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 25, D.C., for information and for visual aids, including a sound film (25 mm.).

For other exhibit material on the United Nations write to United Nations Information Office, 610 5th Avenue, New York 20; French Press and Information Service, 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22; the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., 500 Madison Avenue, New York 16.

# Sanctuary

## *Meditation on the Lord's Prayer*

*This is the first of a series of five meditations on the Lord's Prayer prepared by Rev. Stephen J. Mathers, M.A., minister of St. James-Bond United Church, Toronto, Canada, and used in the vesper services of the International Conference on Adult Education at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, during the summer of 1940.*

**Theme:** "Our Father who art in heaven,  
Hallowed be thy name."

### **II to Worship:**

**Leader:** Worthy art thou, our Lord and our God, to receive the glory and the honor and the power: for thou didst create all things, and because of thy will they were, and were created.

**People:** Come, let us worship and bow down; Let us kneel before the Lord our Maker: For he is our God, And we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand.

### **Vocation:**

"Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid: Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts . . . , that we may perfectly love Thee, and worthily magnify Thy holy name; through Christ our Lord."

Take thou control of our hearts and minds at this time, that we may be responsive to thy word for us. Amen.

**Hymn:** "Praise, My Soul, the King of Heaven."

**Scripture Lesson:** Matt. 6: 5-13—The Lord's Prayer.

Luke 15: 11-24—The Parable of the Prodigal Son.

### **Meditation:**

In these periods of meditation it is not my purpose to preach, rather, to move slowly, giving you time to think, and suggest a few pertinent ideas. If we think together (and no period of worship can be successful unless you work as hard as the leader does) then our thinking will lead us to thanksgiving, to confession, to repentance, to a deeper faith in God, and into truer fellowship with each other.

Let us turn then to think together of the first part of this prayer.

### **God is Father—he is Creator of all that is.**

"In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." "And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good."—Gen. 1: 1, 31.

Job reminds us of His wisdom and power in ch. 40: "Who [but God] hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, or

comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?"—Isa. 40: 12.

"Lift up your eyes on high, and see who hath created these [the stars], that bring out their host by number; he calleth them all by name; by the greatness of his might and for that he is strong in power, not one is lacking."—Isa. 40: 26.

The sage of the New Testament portrays this majesty in the words beginning, "I beheld, there was a throne set in heaven, and one sitting upon the throne."—Rev. 4: 1.

God the Father, the Creator of all, is wise in wisdom, majestic in glory, strong in power. Why then are we, who claim to be his children, so often weak and helpless and easily defeated?

#### **God is Father—in a personal and intimate sense.**

I can come into his presence with the confident boldness of a child coming to father. Here I find loving, individual care and help; here I find one who understands me, who is patient and calm—yet withal righteous and full of justice. Why then should I be afraid? Why should I be hesitant in my witness or in my service—God is my Father.

*Our Father*—the plural pronoun *our* stirs us at once to the heights of hope, there is no doubt that it is meant to be all-inclusive. Jesus knew God to be the Father of all mankind, yet to think of living consistently on that basis must cast us to depths of despair. Let your mind move about it in some detail.

#### *Our Father—then Father*

- of those near and dear to us, the members of our household, of our family, friends, our Church;
- of those of our own race and color;
- of those who are fellow citizens with us in our land;
- of those who have wronged us; no matter how deep and grievous the hurt may be;
- of those who vex us and try our patience—and how many there are who do!;
- of those who are in physical, mental, or spiritual need in our lands;
- of all homeless, wandering, suffering persons on the earth;
- of the people of the lands we have called enemy—and of their leaders;
- of all, even when they refuse to acknowledge that they are children of God;
- of those, in every land, who through Jesus Christ are entering more deeply into the meaning of thy Fatherhood.

Beside all these we stand when we say, "Our Father." We share their sorrow, shame, their joy and gladness. We are bound to do what we can to help them.

#### *"Hallowed Be Thy Name"*

This is apt to be meaningless to the average person. Yet it is one of the deepest and most challenging of its petitions. May the name, the very being of God, be honored, respected, revered—but how?

- by a new reverence for nature as the creation of God—using it for his purpose, refusing to waste or dishonor nature;
- by a new reverence for the creations of man's inventive genius; by the proper use of plastics and atomic power;
- by our willing submissions to the judgments and disciplines of God, correcting our lives so that we please him;
- by daily growth toward Christlikeness in all personal and corporate living.

Let us pray then: "Our Father who art in heaven,  
Hallowed be thy name."

**Prayers:**

O thou, who inhabitest eternity as its master and dost guide the universe as its creator and upholder, we thank thee that thou hast revealed thyself to us as a God of infinite majesty and power. Cause us to be aware of thy mighty power. Make us to know that, in every circumstance of life, we may supplement our weakness by drawing upon thee. So, as individuals, as a Church, as nations, may we be courageous and strong to do the right in that strength which is beyond the strength of men, even thy strength, O Lord of Hosts.

We praise thee that thou hast revealed thyself to us as Father, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. In thy loving care the very hairs of our head are numbered. Thou dost mark the fall of the sparrow, and we are worth many sparrows. Thou knowest we have need of the common things of life, and thou dost provide them for us. In thy presence we are strengthened and comforted, upheld and encouraged. For all thy personal ministries as a Father of love and justice we praise thee; teach us how to live more wholly in the wonder of thy Fatherhood.

We confess that we have so largely failed to realize that thou art the Father of all. We have paid lip service to the truth of thy universal Fatherhood, and then have forgotten to live by its precepts. Our practice has been limited to our own social group, our class, our nation, our race—perhaps to our allies. Father, forgive us, and in these days may we in truth and deed hallow thy name as we seek the ways of brotherhood with all peoples. Amen.

**Hymn:** "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind."

**Benediction:** May the blessing of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be with us all this night. Amen.

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## Conscription

*(Continued from page 19)*

child a good basic philosophy are, in her words, nonexistent.

The side so far discussed has had to do only with men who would be affected by conscription. There is, of course, another whole issue. If we have conscription, what are those nations which have been our allies to think—and the small nations? Yet, there is another problem that is closer home than our international relations, if such can be in these days of our small world. The problem has to do with the tremendous political dangers that might arise from peacetime conscription. Certainly many grave dangers could arise if military leaders, who are not elected by the people, misuse their position, authority,

or power. People must admit that the Army and Navy, as a great vested interest, is, in wartime, completely lacking in democratic principles or ideals. And we must ask what guarantee we would have that things would be different in peacetime.

All in all we have a tremendous problem on our hands that involves more than training all youth, international relations, and our own democracy. There is a moral responsibility to the youth of today and tomorrow and to the other people of the world who look up to us for guidance. It is an issue which the Church cannot side-step, for the issue has been kept alive by the sacrifice of millions who fought and died for freedom, not conscription.

## How Can We Get Along with Russia?

*(Continued from page 17)*

ability on each side to understand the mental processes of the other. At the London conference nothing was more baffling and irritating than the fact that Mr. Molotoff and the other Ministers seemed never to be discussing the same point.

Behind this antithesis of tradition, background, and political environment is something else, quite as much Old Russian as Bolshevik, but accentuated under the Communist regime. At home the Soviet Government is accustomed to having its own way; it is natural, therefore, that it should find it difficult to meet opposition abroad and to accommodate itself easily to divergent points of view. Generalissimo Stalin has proved himself easier to deal with and more flexible than Mr. Molotoff.

It is no less difficult for Soviet representatives to conduct negotiations in the open. Secrecy is not so much a policy as a Soviet habit, the result of long isolation, the underground experience of most of the leaders, and a press which is considered "free" because, like everything else, it is state-controlled.

Can Governments dependent on public opinion for the support of their decisions adopt the policy of keeping the public out? Can a peace dependent on the support of the United Nations be made by three powers alone? Underlying all questions of procedure, treaty-drafting, and reporting is whether nations brought up in a different school can agree to adapt themselves to Russian ideas and methods. The dispute boils down to a conflict of views on the nature of the peace and the basis on which the world is to be reorganized.

Once we acknowledge that the Russians and ourselves do not look at things in the same way, and probably never will, the

atmosphere will not be clouded by illusions leading to repeated disappointments. We must understand that to the well indoctrinated Soviet citizen their "democracy," in the words of *Izvestia*, is "a true democracy in which the people's aspirations are the concern of the state and state laws are put into effect by the inspired effort of the people." The All-Union elections announced for next February offer no choice between parties or programs, but to the Russians they are "free elections."

The Russians must understand that we cannot modify our own principles or even change our definitions for theirs. The would be to sacrifice all we have struggled for for two hundred years. What we have to try to make them see in respect to the Balkan states, for example, is that it is not on our side a question of governments friendly to them or friendly to us as they think, or even of "democratic" governments in our sense, but only of some assurance and evidence that these governments are the free choice of the people concerned. If they go Communist by free plebiscite, fairly prepared for and honestly conducted, that is their affair. The same is true of Italy and Greece. The nub of the matter is that as allies we are equally responsible for what happens to the people.

We have to prove to the Russians that friendship can exist in spite of differences. Their fear of the *cordon sanitaire* is obsessing that they want, not friends, but satellites, along their western border states withdrawn from any other influence states they can control, that will always vote with them. When other nations vote against them, as in San Francisco and London, they ascribe the opposition, not to conviction on the issue involved, but to a combination against the Soviet Union.

The idea that the world is the enemy dies hard. It can be overcome only by demonstration that friendship between nations is not inconsistent with wi-

vergences of view and of temperament. The best example of this is the often iritable but unbreakable partnership of Britain and the United States. "To be on equally good terms with Russia," says a seasoned British diplomat, "we have to be free to hurl the same insults at each other as England and America habitually indulge in."

Nor is international amity inconsistent with a firm stand for principles. Every one now agrees that the time is past for de-stepping vital issues and blurring disagreements under a fog of vague words. There are points of serious disagreement among the great powers, it is better to know them at the beginning and work to concile them if possible or to adopt alternative plans and policies. A peace structure built of ersatz material will not stand.

No responsible person can admit that agreement is impossible. The only fact that overrides all other facts is that the aim of Russia is security. Her motive in putting up an outer fortress and insisting that the great powers shall be supreme arbiters in making and maintaining peace to insure security by force.

But peace is also the cardinal aim of the United States, and if the two greatest powers are inspired by the same purpose they are forced by a greater power than either to reach agreement on the means to attain it.

Meantime, the world is in an acute stage of moral and psychological crisis, and to surrender our principles—principles which we believe form a surer groundwork for peace than the Soviet Government's more exclusive formula—would not improve our relations with Russia or create stability.

There are only two ways to ease the way to understanding. One is to open the doors and windows between us and let the currents of thought pass through. Russia is too great and important to live cloistered within walls, no matter how far they ex-

tend. There must be more contacts and freer normal communication between the two countries before the barriers of suspicion can be swept away. We have to have two-way broadcasts, two-way reporting, two-way travel, two-way exchanges in every field.

The other is to exploit, develop to the utmost, our common interest in security by going ahead full speed with the organization work of the United Nations. It can be argued that unity in maintaining peace is a chimera unless unity can be attained in making peace, but the answer is that co-operation is being slowly realized in the Preparatory Commission and it is not beyond the range of possibility that the powers will eventually turn to the Security Council as a drafting committee for the peace treaties.

The Russian and the Western powers have to work together on technical and practical problems in the administration of enemy territory, moreover, and this frequently exasperating experience may tend in the long run to do more to establish a habit of consultation than political conferences on higher levels.

At all events, we must go on from where we are. Because too much power is always abused and leads to war, Russia, Britain, and the United States as responsible world powers are bound to try to prevent any of the three from becoming dominant. And since the one alternative to domination is partnership, only a will to war or a philosophy of despair would abandon at the first or hundredth setback the endeavor to achieve that partnership.

"It is better to light one small candle than to curse the darkness," said Confucius.

One candle lights another and so many are already burning to illumine the two paths ahead—the way of peace or the way of destruction—that it is unthinkable that any sane Government should ever again lead its people back into the darkness of isolationism and its fatal policies.

## The Church Speaks on Palestine

(Continued from page 12)

system by the League of Nations. The right of self-determination, moreover, was a basic principle of the League itself. The mandate system was an effort to implement a 'trust' for dependent peoples. Before the armistice with Germany which ended World War I the twelfth of Woodrow Wilson's famous *Fourteen Points* published the specification that 'the other nationalities' then 'under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.' If, therefore, Arab opposition to the establishment of the Jewish homeland continues and Arab consent to Jewish immigration is not forthcoming, no basis is provided by the League for coercion. Prosecution of the project, it continued, would in reality rest on those repudiated conqueror's rights. . . .

"Quite aside from all considerations of British interests in the area, we cannot believe that the safety and the future of the Jewish settlement would be advanced by a policy which would undermine Britain's own influence among the Arab peoples. It is upon British solidarity with the Arabs that the homeland, in the last analysis, is built."

Further, "Zionists and Anti-Zionists alike demand for Jews everywhere equal rights with other citizens. Nothing could be more just. In addition, Zionists insist that Jewish immigration into Palestine should be 'unrestricted' and that its control should be placed in Jewish hands. This double appeal, at one and the same time to 'equality' and to 'preferred status,' seems to us contradictory and has been far from reassuring to the Arab population.

"Anti-Zionists object to immigration restriction only as it bears upon Jews as Jews, citing the Mandate bar upon discrimination on grounds of 'race, religion, or language.' If in Palestine it had been

ordinary immigration that was involved this argument would seem more relevant than it does in the present circumstance. It was not ordinary immigration, however, but a unique project in colonization, controlled and to a considerable extent financed from outside the country, and imposed against the expressed wishes of the native population. Its cessation is an attempt to redress an imbalance, caused by earlier discrimination in favor of Jewish entry, which has produced an explosive situation."

### Palestine's Future

The working of any political arrangement in Palestine must depend on mutual confidence and the good will of the communities. The rights, religious, civil, and political, of minorities should be guaranteed by treaty between the new state and the United Nations, and the legitimate interests of Great Britain safeguarded by treaty with the British Government.

"If, in spite of the discipline of events, sufficient co-operation is still not forthcoming for this desirable outcome, we believe the only alternative is the establishment of a mandate under the United Nations."

The root of both phases of the Jewish problem is anti-Semitism. Pointedly, the conference asks: "Are we Christians ready to confess that Christianity has no more certain cure to offer than geographical concentration of the Jewish people and that questionable good, national sovereignty? We believe," it affirms, "that the future of Christianity depends upon the heart with which Christians now attack this menace to all that we have professed in for nineteen centuries. We believe that a demonstration of Christian justice toward the Arabs would do much to stem the anti-Jewish tide in Moslem lands. We call upon Christian leaders here and now to initiate a more positive and vigorous program to eradicate anti-Semitic feeling in our own country."

## Social Action for a New Era

(Continued from page 27)

We spent the second conference day on "the Hill," observing the legislative processes in action. Some of us attended the meeting of a special committee of experts on housing, called by the Senators sponsoring the Housing Bill, to get the advice of the experts before the bill assumed its final form. We attended also the hearing on universal military training held by the House Military Affairs Committee, and we heard the story of UNRRA and the needed opportunity for local groups to urge Congress to make the necessary appropriations so that we may assume our rightful share in the relief and rehabilitation of the war-torn areas of the world.

Pending legislation dealing with full employment, F.E.P.C., sixty-five-cent minimum wage, and social security, maternal and child health was presented by its respective sponsors and armed with this information and the proper technique we called on our Senators and Representatives to discuss with them the merits of the bills in which we were interested.

On the final day of the conference we met as a denominational group. Many of us felt that we had moved suddenly into a new era. But the machinery of the church, we felt, was geared, not to the Atomic Age, but to the Stone Age. And deep concern was expressed that our church leaders should make it possible for the Presbyterian Church to function effectively at this critical state in world history.

The Federal Council of Churches sums up our responsibility as Christians in the following statement: In this solemn hour let Christians exercise that leadership which is so desperately needed if nations are to be freed from the peril of a greater, perhaps final, holocaust. Let preachers proclaim from their pulpits the gospel of God's redeeming and reconciling love and demands of that gospel upon the social

conduct of mankind. Let laymen in their pews resolve that the Lordship of Christ shall be established in the life and work of the world.

(Mrs. Wm. L.) Mary B. Tucker,  
Second Presbyterian Church, Princeton,  
New Jersey.

## We Saw Democracy at Work

(Continued from page 28)

There is a third impression I gained from the Washington Political Seminar, and this is the impression of the impotency of the Protestant Churches in the field of Christian political action. It is true, of course, that the Congregational Christian Church is an exception and it is also noted with pride that the Federal Council of Churches has opened a Washington office. Nevertheless, most of us are still "Poor, Powerless Protestants" in this highly important field.

The Presbyterian Seminar delegation, for one, recognized this need for Christian political action and adopted a resolution favoring the employment of a full-time representative to keep us well posted in this field. We hope that our own splendid Department of Social Education and Action will be strengthened for this important task. Such a step will be in complete harmony with our Calvinistic tradition that political life is under the control of God as sovereign Lord.

Whatever the fate of our recommendation each and every delegate to the seminar has a definite responsibility to inform his Church on the matters which were discussed in Washington. In West Virginia we shall carry out this responsibility through a synod-wide Social Action Seminar early in 1946. At that time there will be fresh issues to deal with but the source of inspiration will be the same as it is now—the second Washington Political Seminar of 1945!

Richard C. Smith, Director,  
"The Shack," Pursglove, West Virginia.

## Wages and Profits

(Continued from page 25)

*Standard and Poor's Investment Service* points to "record corporation earnings in prospect when civilian production gets actively underway and tax burdens are lightened."<sup>4</sup> With enormous profits released from taxes, corporations will be able to grant substantial wage increases.

While the end of excess profits taxes will give back to business some \$2,500 million a year in profits which were taken by the Government in wartime, some \$9,000 million a year have already been cut from workers' incomes by layoffs, loss of overtime and demobilization of servicemen. By next year workers' income will be at least \$11,000 million below 1944 unless wages are raised.

The huge reserves laid aside by corporations during the war should also be noted. From a total of \$48.4 billion in December, 1941, corporation reserves and earned surplus had increased to \$63.6 billion in March, 1945, a gain of \$15 billion or 31%.<sup>5</sup>

### Balance Must Be Restored

Such a drastic reshuffling of national income, bringing billions to business in profits after taxes and taking billions away from workers' incomes, will throw our entire economy more out of balance. And when this new loss for workers is heaped upon the inequities they suffered in wartime due to the Little Steel Formula it is little wonder that they rise up throughout the country and insist upon that justice.

It is high time for a wage adjustment. As President Truman pointed out, everyone suffers when wages are cut away. How can business expect a sustained market for its products? Today business is counting on consumers' savings to create a market, and unquestionably savings will help to fill

the buying-power gap during reconversion. But savings alone cannot create a lasting demand for goods. Such a demand comes only from high wage income. Recently the Federal Reserve Board studied the way consumers expect to make of their savings, and its findings show that business must depend on current wage-earner income for its market. The study covered two typical communities and the findings show: (1) that most of the savings were in the hands of people who earn more than \$55 a week; and (2) that most of these people were saving to buy homes and farms, or to educate their children, or for security in old age or a reserve against emergencies rather than consumer goods.

While workers' taxes will be decreased somewhat by the new tax bill, their tax relief will be less than \$1.8 billion, while their total wage and salary loss will be at least \$11 billion, even after full employment is restored, unless wages are raised.

### Wage Increase the Only Answer

There is only one way forward. That is for management and labor to lay the facts on the table in collective bargaining and agree immediately on the largest wage increase the company concerned can pay. The increase wage rates in accord with increased productivity is not inflationary, for the volume of output is raised. This is the only way industry can restore balance and create a demand for goods to assure expanding production and steady profits.

We hope that the recent report of a well-known business service<sup>6</sup> is a sign that the American spirit will prevail in wage negotiations. This service reports almost three times as many wage increases in October as in September: 558 in September and 1,564 in October. Unions report many cases where employers are now paying the same weekly wage for a 40-hour week which they formerly paid for 48-hour

<sup>4</sup> *Outlook*, October 26, 1945.

<sup>5</sup> *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, October, 1945.

<sup>6</sup> Babson's Business Service, September and October 29, 1945.

## About Books

**A Christian Global Strategy**, by Walter W. Van Kirk. Willett, Clark & company. \$2.00.

This book will add immeasurably to the esteem in which the author is held by the public, an esteem already great through his writings, his speeches and his weekly broadcasts. The book will also add greatly to the stature of leadership which the Christian Church brings to today's world. It is not too much to say that here is the Christian Church at its best. With imagination and daring that surpasses that of the discoverers of atomic energy, it carries men forward to that basis for human relationships wherein is found the crisis of today. Dr. Van Kirk exhibits here also a statesmanship that attacks the pivotal problems of the day with the wisdom and the strength of Christian insight.

The world outlook of Haushofer, the German geo-politician, whose views captured the imagination of Hitler; the global strategy followed by the Chiefs of staff of the United Nations; the imminence of impending destruction that overhangs the world through the misuse of atomic energy—these are the background for Walter Van Kirk's challenge to the Christian forces of today. Jesus is greater than Haushofer—regenerative and constructive forces of Christianity are greater than those of atomic energy. Therefore the global strategy of the Church must exceed that of military leaders. It is to the implications of this need that the book is addressed, with daring, vision, and practicality. Here is no message for those at ease in Zion; but neither is it the message of the fearful.

The Christian Church has in the Gospel a global message and a global mission. Both of these are frustrated not by the world itself so much as by its own short-

comings. With high imagination, prophetic passion and strong resolve, the author points to what the Church must do if it is to release itself from its self-imposed shackles. The blight of ecclesiastical divisiveness is discussed brilliantly, reaching finally a definite proposal for Roman Catholic-Protestant co-operation. The chapter on the Russian Orthodox Church is fresh, illuminating and on a high plane of Christian statesmanship.

The author does not ignore the difficulties that are ahead but his conviction is that there is no hope for the world unless the Church rises with faith and vigor to the level of attempting the impossible.

This book cannot be too strongly recommended to the ministers of our Churches, and to its laymen and women as well, who want to be challenged by a call to greatness in this day of spiritual crisis.—C.P.H.

**What Is Christian Civilization?** by John Baillie. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.00.

What is a Christian society?—has persistently enjoyed the thinking of the best minds within the Church. T. S. Eliot and Jacques Maritain present an approach and answer to this theme and are joined in this small volume by the gifted pen of Dr. Baillie. In general their view holds that what makes a society Christian is the acceptance of Christian principles as a broad frame of reference for its basic moral concepts and decisions. The suggestion is made, for instance, that what is important is not that the official leaders of the people be Christian but that the accepted rules controlling public policy be in conformity with Christian principles for corporate life.

Those who have read Eliot or Maritain in this volume or elsewhere will find this

book a brief summarization of this point. They will find in it the gifts of expression and penetration of insight which make all the books that Dr. Baillie writes delightful and worthwhile reading.—C.P.H.

**One Destiny**, by Sholem Asch. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

This is a worthy tractate by the Yiddish writer who gave us *The Nazarene* and *The Apostle*. Christians should read this book, even though doing so will cause a Gethsemane-like anguish.

Christians have frequently speculated whether or not Sholem Asch is Christian when they read his two novels about Jesus and Paul. Even though they may find in his works discrepancies in accepted Christian doctrine, many feel that Asch is "not far from the Kingdom," if, indeed, he has not already arrived.

*One Destiny* affirms beyond any cavil that the great writer is not a Christian. Yet this little book proves that his conception of Christianity is much more creditable than that displayed by many professing Christians in the world today.

He insists that the Early Church twisted the story of Jesus' trial and death to place full responsibility on the Jews, thus giving pogroms, persecutions, and the Hitlerian abominations a Scriptural justification. We deny this, of course. Yet, since Asch is writing as a Jew we cannot help thinking that we are largely responsible for his feeling the way he does.

The martyrdom and persecution the early Christians suffered at the hands of the Romans, the writer insists, was due as much to their Jewish connections as to their new faith; and in his vivid chapter "The Poisoned Well" Asch shows that when the Christians themselves became secure, instead of nourishing their Jewish brethren with milk, they fed them with stones. "One long night of sorrow and pain," he writes. "The history of the Jews is a bloody sore on the conscience of Christendom."

But in his concluding chapter, "The Judaeo-Christian Idea," the author glows spiritually. The Christian Church, declares, has risen during the recent years to heights unparalleled except in the first three centuries of the faith, putting in jeopardy their own lives.

We dare not turn our faces or make idle our hearts to the challenge presented to all Christendom in *One Destiny*, although we may be heartily humiliated that a Jew should be the one to call us to repentance as Christians for the crimes we have committed against these our brothers.

WILLIAM M. HUNTER

**September Remember**, by Eli Taintor. Prentice-Hall. \$2.75.

This is a robust novel of violence, revolution, and love which relates in fiction form the essential elements of the story of Alcoholics Anonymous. The book is the product of two well-known authors who have collaborated and pooled their resources in a splendid fashion and write under the pseudonym of Eli Taintor.

Although some of the language is pretty strong, the story has an impelling message. It is realistic to the nth degree. The reader who is unfamiliar with Alcoholics Anonymous will find in it a better insight than in anything else he might read, into the workings of that organization of men and women who have been released from the slavery of alcoholism. To the alcoholic it will show how the group has helped many fellow sufferers and how it can assist him. To the student of the alcohol problem, it will be one more evidence of the great power of this organization of people bonded together for the advancement of the common good and the salvation of the inebriate.

*September Remember* is both a source of authentic information about Alcoholics Anonymous and an engrossing novel.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

# Study and Action

## E.A. Leaflets

**What Next in World Order?** by John Paul Jones. A discussion of the continuing task in the achievement of world law and order through international co-operation—political, economic and social. *10 cents.*

**World Order Movement—1945-1946**—The Presbyterian Church-wide Program. *Free.*

**United Nations Charter. Basis for World Community.** *Free.*

**Peacetime Military Conscription?** Facts and opinions. *Free.*

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